

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 217490

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ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:DFINNERTY
APPROVED BY:S/S-O:WNEWLIN
----- 041579

R 060605Z NOV 73
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION BELGRADE INFO USUN NEW YORK NATO
AMMAN BEIRUT JIDDA KUWAIT TEL AVIV CAIRO SANAA JERUSALEM
FROM SECSTATE 4 NOVEMBER REPEATED

QTE S E C R E T STATE 217490

E.O.: 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, XF, YO
SUBJ: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SISCO MEETING WITH YUGOSLAV
AMBASSADOR

1. YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR GRANFIL CALLED AT HIS REQUEST ON
ASST SEC SISCO NOVEMBER 3. GRANFIL INDICATED PURPOSE OF
HIS CALL WAS TWOFOLD: TO ENABLE GOY, WHICH REGARDS DIRECT
CONTACTS WITH US ON MIDDLE EAST AS HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO
KEEP ABREAST OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN AREA AND TO AVOID
MORE OF THE "UNNECESSARY MISUNDERSTANDINGS" WHICH HAVE
OCCURRED IN RECENT DAYS. GRANFIL THEN REQUESTED THAT
SISCO OUTLINE US VIEWS ON PROBLEMS WE NOW FACE IN ACHIEVING
DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

2. SISCO INDICATED HE WAS AWARE OF WHAT USG REPRESENTA-
TIVES HAD SAID ABOUT POSITIONS YUGOSLAVIA HAD TAKEN DURING
VARIOUS STAGES OF CRISIS AND WOULD NOT REFLOW OLD
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 217490

GROUND. WHAT IS IMPORTANT NOW IS THAT US AND YUGOSLAVIA
SHARE THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVEMENT OF STABILITY AND
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. YUGOSLAVS SHOULD REALIZE THAT
PRESENT CRISIS HAS CLOSELY DEMONSTRATED THAT US HOLDS KEY
TO ACHIEVING A LASTING SETTLEMENT BECAUSE IT ALONE HAS

INFLUENCE WITH ISRAEL AS WELL AS CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. AS ILLUSTRATION OF US CONTACTS WITH ARABS, SISCO OBSERVED THAT DURING PRESENT

CRISIS US EXCHANGED MORE MESSAGES WITH EGYPT THAN WITH ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT. WHATEVER ITS VIEWS, WHATEVER SUPPORT IT PROVIDES ARABS, USSR IS SIMPLY NOT IN POSITION TO PLAY ROLE SIMILAR TO THAT OF US. GRANFIL READILY AGREED THAT CENTER OF ACTION IN MIDDLE EAST CRISIS HAD SHIFTED TO WASHINGTON.

3. US, SISCO EMPHASIZED, IS AS COMMITTED AS IT EVER HAS BEEN TO ACHIEVEMENT OF LASTING PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST. BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS RECOGNIZE THIS. IN WORKING TO PRODUCE SETTLEMENT, US WILL CONTINUE TO BE SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM OF ITS ACTIONS AND GOY SHOULD TAKE THIS SENSITIVITY INTO ACCOUNT. THERE IS NO ROOM IN PRESENT SITUATION FOR THE QUESTIONING OF US MOTIVES. THEREFORE, US AND YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD MAINTAIN CLOSE CONSULTATION ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. GRANFIL INDICATED HE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT GOY AVOID MAKING "UNNECESSARY FORMULATIONS" DURING THIS SENSITIVE PERIOD.

4. YUGOSLAVIA, SAID GRANFIL, HAS ALWAYS FAVORED A LASTING SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR PAST FOUR YEARS YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN CONCERNED THAT SITUATION IN AREA HAD DETERIORATED TO POINT WHERE RENEWED ARMED CONFLICT WAS POSSIBLE AT ANY TIME. ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAVIA HAS GIVEN FULL SUPPORT TO ARAB CAUSE, YUGOSLAVIA IS NOT HOSTILE TOWARD ISRAEL. PRESIDENT TITO HAS SAID PUBLICLY SEVERAL TIMES IN RECENT YEARS THAT ARABS MUST RECOGNIZE ISRAEL IS A REALITY AND THAT ISRAEL TOO NEEDS ASSURANCES OF ITS SECURITY. GOY POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL HAS NOT CHANGED. YUGOSLAVIA SUPPORTS ARABS FOR TWO SIMPLE REASONS: THEY ARE WEAKER THAN THE ISRAELIS; THEIR TERRITORY HAS BEEN OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL. GRANFIL STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT GOY'S SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 217490

ATTITUDE IN PRESENT CRISIS WAS NOT AND HAD NOT BEEN ANTI-US.

6. US BELIEVES, SISCO NOTED, THAT OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS IN MIDDLE EAST ARE MORE PROPITIOUS FOR LASTING SETTLEMENT THAN THEY HAVE BEEN FOR MANY YEARS. BUBBLE OF ISRAELI INVINCIBILITY HAS BURST. THE IGNOMINY OF THE ARAB DEFEAT OF 1967 HAS BEEN LARGELY ERASED. PRESIDENT SADAT NO LONGER FEELS HE WOULD BE ENTERING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BOWED HEAD. THE OBJECTIVE REALITY IS THAT NEITHER SIDE HAS WON DECISIVELY NOR SUFFERED DECISIVE DEFEAT

7. US, SAID SISCO, IS ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO A MAJOR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST.

THIS, SISCO STRESSED, IS BECAUSE SUCH A PEACE IS IN OVER-ALL INTEREST OF US. IN WORKING FOR PEACE US HAS TWO OBJECTIVES: FIRST, TO CONSOLIDATE CEASE-FIRE SO THAT IT

CAN PROVIDE THE NECESSARY TIME FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE PLACE; SECONDLY, TO GET A NEGOTIATING PROCESS UNDER WAY. ACHIEVEMENT OF FIRST OBJECTIVE IS PREREQUISITE FOR SECOND. BOTH SIDES HAVE SAID TALKS CANNOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL STABLE CEASE-FIRE IS ACHIEVED. FOR EGYPT PRINCIPAL PROBLEM IN ACHIEVING CEASE-FIRE IS RETURN OF ALL FORCES TO POSITIONS THEY OCCUPIED ON OCTOBER 22. FOR ISRAEL, PRIMARY DESIRE IS RETURN OF ISRAELI POWS. PURPOSE OF SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING TRIP IS TO PROMOTE PROGRESS TOWARD BOTH THESE OBJECTIVES. US IS CONVINCED SUCH PROGRESS MUST BE ACHIEVED RAPIDLY BECAUSE DELAY WOULD ENTAIL TOO MANY RISKS. GRANFIL EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH THIS VIEW.

8. IN RESPONSE TO GRANFIL'S QUERY, SISCO VOICED OPINION THAT HE BELIEVES IT WOULD TAKE TWO TO FOUR WEEKS BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE LAUNCHED. HOWEVER, US HOPES STABLE CEASE-FIRE WILL BE ACHIEVED SOON.

9. AFTER NOTING THAT GOY'S ATTITUDE AND ADVICE TO ARAB WORLD IS IMPORTANT, AND THAT BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS WANT US TO PLAY POSITIVE ROLE, SISCO TOLD GRANFIL USG WILL REGARD WHAT GOY SAYS TO ARABS CONCERNING THE USE OF OIL AS DIPLOMATIC WEAPON AS A TEST OF YUGOSLAVIA'S ATTITUDE. US
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 217490

WILL HAVE TO APPLY EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE ON ISRAEL, IF LASTING SETTLEMENT IS TO BE ACHIEVED. THIS WILL PLACE A STRAIN ON US-ISRAELI RELATIONS. IN ORDER FOR USG TO EXERCISE EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE ON ISRAEL, AS TITO HAS ASKED US TO DO, USG MUST HAVE SUPPORT OF US PUBLIC OPINION. BECAUSE THREATS OF EMBARGO OR CURTAILMENT OF OIL SUPPLIES UNDERMINE USG'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THEY ARE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE FROM ARABS' POINT OF VIEW. GOY SHOULD, TO DEGREE TO WHICH IT HAS INFLUENCE IN ARAB WORLD, TELL ITS ARAB FRIENDS IT IS CONVINCED OF US GOOD INTENTIONS AND THAT ARABS SHOULD, THEREFORE, WEIGH THREATS OF EMBARGO VERY CAREFULLY. US CANNOT PLAY PRODUCTIVE ROLE UNDER THREAT OF BLACKMAIL. THERE IS SOME INDICATION EGYPTIANS UNDERSTAND PROBLEM AND MAY BE HELPFUL. GRANFIL ASSURED SISCO HE WOULD CONVEY THIS VIEW TO HIS GOVERNMENT, ADDING THAT HE WAS SURE PRESIDENT TITO WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THIS SUGGESTION.

10. GRANFIL SAID HE UNDERSTOOD SISCO WOULD BE VISITING SOME NONALIGNED COUNTRIES ON HIS FORTHCOMING TRIP. WOULD YUGOSLAVIA, HE SAID, BE ON SISCO'S ITINERARY? SISCO INDICATED HE HAD NO PLANS TO VISIT YUGOSLAVIA.

11. SISCO AND GRANFIL AGREED ON THE UTILITY OF A
CONTINUING US-YUGOSLAV DIALOGUE ON MIDDLE EAST.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: collinp0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE217490
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter:
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750026-1744
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731167/abqcejnq.tel
Line Count: 169
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: collinp0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 OCT 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Oct-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <06 MAR 2002 by collinp0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SISCO MEETING WITH YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR
TAGS: PEPR, XF, US, YO, (SISCO)
To: MOSCOW
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005